UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

"Grave Consequences"

By SYDNEY STRONG

The Spiritual Significance of Non-Co-operation

By VIOLA IRENE COOPER

The Restoration of the Church Which Jesus Planned

By ERNEST WHITESMITH

Dr. Wendte's Eightieth Birthday

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

VOLUME XCIII NUMBER 14

Chicago, June 5, 1924

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1924 NUMBER 14

THE WORST OF HERESIES

The worst of all heresies in any Christian, and the heresy that Christ holds as most inexcusable, however commonly and however bitterly it betrays itself in our controversies, is the heresy of hatred—that odium which to the eternal shame of our apostasy from the tender forbearance of our Lord has acquired the distinctive name of "theologicum." If a man be animated by that spirit—be he the most dreaded champion of his shibboleth, the foremost fugleman of his party—if he be guilty of that heresy, his Christianity is heathenism, and his orthodoxy a cloak for error.

—Dean Farrar.

The remarkable Resolution on war, reported to the Methodist Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts, as announced in these columns last week, was not passed in the form presented. Its adoption by the committee in charge was perhaps all that could rightly be expected at this time. Not yet is any convention, even a religious one, prepared to adopt a resolution placing the church unqualifiedly in opposition to the nation in time of war. But this Resolution was not rejected! In spite of hysterical telegrams sent in to the Convention by militant Methodists, in spite of clamorous editorials of outrage and alarm in the Boston *Transcript* and other newspapers, in spite of the melodramatic action of the President of Syracuse University in joining the Officers Reserve and putting on the uniform, the Convention soberly debated the Resolution and then referred it back for further committee consideration. This resulted in the report of a new Resolution, not as drastic and thorough-going as the first, but none the less the most emphatic repudiation of war and all the things pertaining to war which has ever come from an official church body. We print this Resolution *in extenso* in our department, "The Field," and we ask our readers to study it carefully. In such statements as these—"The glorification of war must end," "Selfish nationalism and economic imperialism and militarism must cease," "Conscription of wealth and labor must be the counter-part of one for conscription of human life," "We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance," "We urge our President to summon another conference of the nations for the more drastic reduction of armaments"—we find the Methodists in the forefront of all churches today in the campaign against war. Most significant and gratifying, however, is the flat-footed declaration of the Convention in favor of the Outlawry of War. "We are determined *to outlaw the whole war system*"—this is the stirring slogan adopted by the Convention, which is destined to echo not only throughout this nation but the world around. The Methodist Church is the largest Protestant denomination in this country; its ministers and members number between four and five million people. Its official adoption of the Outlawry of War makes this program the basis from now on of all effective action for international peace.

As though in confirmation of the closing sentence in the above editorial note, there came to hand within a few hours of its writing the thrilling news that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Grand Rapids, Michigan, had adopted, with only one dissenting vote, a declaration for the Outlawry of War comparable in every sense with that adopted by the Methodists. "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," so runs the Resolution, "pledges all its energies to *the outlawing of war* and to the hastening of the day when nations shall learn to war no more." Here again is impressive, indeed thrilling, evidence of the fact that the religious consciousness of the American people is swinging definitely from innocuous generalities on this peace question, even from futile hopes in such institutions as the League of Nations and the World Court, to this specific program for outlawry which promises at least effective action against the abomination of war. We count it a wonderful thing that the Christian forces of this country should have so soon been won over to the idea of the outlawry of war. Yet why should we be surprised? For never in all the history of the peace crusade has an idea, at once so simple, so effective, so thorough-going, so idealistic, been presented to the world. It has the almost miraculous qualification of combining the loftiest spiritual sentiment with utter practicality. Here is a vision which has no compromises, no reservations, and yet can be put into effect at once. What appeals to Methodists, Presbyterians and religious people generally is the fact that here is a concrete application of the Christian gospel within which there is no place for war. What interests the statesmen, like Senator Borah, for example, is the fact that here is a program which can be presented to the nations of the world for definite and immediate action. Now that the religious wave of support for outlawry has been started, we expect to see it sweep the country and thus begin to register at once politically. Senator Borah's resolution for outlawry, now lying upon the table of the Senate, will

become a focal point of popular enthusiasm and determination. Whether any action can be taken upon it at this session of Congress is doubtful as time is short. The next step is to write outlawry into the platforms of the two great political parties and thus prepare the way triumphantly for the passage of the Borah Resolution next winter.

The courage of the Methodists and Presbyterians on this war issue only serves to make the more disgusting and disgraceful the action, or rather non-action, of certain other religious bodies. Take, for example, what happened at the twenty-fourth annual session of the Congress of Disciples of Christ at Lexington, Kentucky. Into this Convention there was introduced by Dr. C. C. Morrison, the clear-visioned and plain-spoken editor of the *Christian Century,* a Resolution which read as follows:

> Moved, that it is the conviction of this assembly that the church should not support or encourage any future war.

Here was a statement that meant business! After discussion, however, it was rejected and the following innocuous Resolution adopted in its place:

> Moved, that the church of today should adopt an educational program that shall lay the foundation for a warless world.

Could anything be worse than this—anything more utterly stupid and cowardly? The Disciples of Christ Congress, however, was not alone in this sort of procedure. The American Unitarian Association, in annual assembly in Boston, ran it a close second in resolving complacently to urge all Unitarian churches and their members

> to use their influence toward the development of more civilized and friendly international relations to the end that warfare may be abolished.

This is one of those harmless resolutions which have been adopted regularly for the last one hundred years, and which have never had any more influence on the peace question than a drop of rain falling on a vast conflagration of flame. To pass this sort of resolution in times like these is an evasion of spiritual responsibility and a confession of spiritual bankruptcy which ought to persuade the church to go out of business for sheer decency's sake. The Methodists and Presbyterians have shown the way. If other churches are not willing "to leave all and follow," let them close their doors and avoid the contempt of men.

Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey, in his new autobiography just published, calls himself "the last of the heretics." Whether this claim, which any churchman might well covet, is sound or not is now being tested in the trial of Bishop William Montgomery Brown, retired, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which opened on May 27th last. The outcome of this trial may be known before these words are printed. Meanwhile, it may be well to remind the public of the fact that in this day of our Lord, 1924, a Christian is being tried for false belief in matters of doctrine. It is significant of the rapidity of religious changes, however, that whereas Dr. Crapsey was tried and convicted ten years ago for rejecting the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, Bishop Brown is being tried not for theological but for economic heresies. This fact does not appear upon the surface, to be sure, but Bishop Brown is entirely right when he declares,

> It is not because I applied the test of Darwinism to the Bible and to accepted religious notions, but because I championed the unpopular political and industrial movement called Communism, that I was marked for decapitation. It is hoped by my assailants that because of my political expressions the Modernist will not dare to defend me in my theological expressions.

If anyone wants to know what it is all about, and how far the theological charges come from reaching the root of the matter, let him read Bishop Brown's remarkable book entitled "Communism and Christianism." No such word as this has appeared from a Christian Bishop since the early days of Christianity when the followers of Christ "had all things common" and suffered martyrdom rather than carry arms in the legions of the Emperor. We shall watch the outcome of this trial with the greatest interest. We anticipate evasions of the issue, compromises on points of principle, a general procedure of pussy-footing, but it will be the trial court and not Bishop Brown which will be guilty of these things.

Reports about the League of Nations from Geneva are one thing; reports about this same League from other places, is "something else again." Take Syria, for example, held by France under a mandate from this same League! The mandate idea was a scheme devised, so we have been told, for the protection of the weak against the depredations of the strong. The undeveloped and helpless peoples of the world were thus to be placed under the guardianship of the League, and by that truly international and peace-loving body nourished into independent life. But how has this scheme worked—in Syria, for example? Dr. Abdul Rohan Shahbender, minister of foreign affairs in that country during the two years when the Syrians were allowed to manage their own concerns, says that it has not worked at all.

> "The League of Nations," declares this man, now on a visit to this country in the interests of the Syrian independence movement, "so far as Syria and other countries of the near east is concerned, is proving nothing but a cloak for the aims of imperialistic powers. . . It has been proved conclusively to our people," he continues, "that so far the mandate has been nothing but the old colonization system disguised under a new name. . . As employed at present, it is but an instrument for the exploitation of peoples who have not sufficient strength of numbers, or sufficient naval power, to make their national desires respected."

Exactly! This is what UNITY has been saying from the beginning. Never at any time was there a particle of honesty in the mandate scheme. It was simply a clever device for doing a rotten thing respectably. In

so far as the League of Nations is part and parcel of this disreputable scheme, it is itself disreputable.

The longer we live in a great city, the more certain we become in our mind that there is something all wrong with the city idea, and that these enormous aggregations of population are an infallible sign of degeneracy and disintegration. It was certainly so in ancient Rome—the decrease of the rural population and the steady growth of the towns and cities led straight to what we know as "the decline and fall" of the Empire; and why should it not be the same today? Of course, there are new factors involved in these more recent and wonderful times, but do not the basic social conditions remain the same? Look at New York—how marvellous, and yet how terrible! Millions of men, women and children crowded into vast towering cliffs of stone—the streets surging with hastening throngs—stupendous caves and tunnels in the earth in which multitudes toil and travel—the air polluted with smoke and dirt—the silences made hideous day and night with sound—no grass, no trees, no flowers, no birds, save in a few parks that only serve to emphasize the surrounding wilderness of bleak, dead stone—feverish business, hectic pleasure, no quiet, no privacy, no loneliness with nature and with God! We remember reading years ago a poem by Stephen Phillips, called "A Nightmare of London"—

> I dreamed a dream, perhaps a prophecy!
> That London over England spread herself;
> Swallowed the green field and the waving plain,
> Till all this island grew one hideous town.
> And as I gazed in terror rooted, so
> The City seemed to take a dreadful life,
> To be a monster that desired and felt;
> And still did she perceptibly advance,
> Blacken and grasp and seize and wither up.
> Northward she spread, and did assimilate
> Her sister cities of the loom and wheel
> That welcomed her with whirring ecstasies;
> She made the sky a pall, and as she moved,
> Blighted the breathing forests and the woods,
> And where the flower grew, now her pavement lay.
> And all the air grew dark, and there was heard
> In place of rippling wave and whispering wind,
> Only the hoot of grinding car, the shriek
> And fiery belch of engines to the cloud.
> A human army from before her fled;
> But swollen, spiderish, without shape or sleep,
> She stole, till naught opposed her but the sea;
> Ocean preserved her sanctity of foam.

This is the testimony of the poet! It is one with which we sympathize, as we have said. And here comes a great scientist to tell us that it is exactly this nightmare prospect which is going to be realized in the not distant future! The scientist to whom we refer is Professor J. B. S. Haldane, of Cambridge, and the book in which he offers his prophecy is "Daedalus, or Science and the Future." Considering the problem of food, he declares that in years soon to come, all foodstuffs will be produced artificially by chemical processes. Many of these foodstuffs, he goes on to say, "we shall probably build up from simpler sources such as coal and atmospheric nitrogen." Then he adds the perfectly terrific idea (page 39), "This will mean that agriculture will become a luxury, and that *mankind will be completely urbanized.*" This ghastly consequence Professor Haldane seems to view with entire equanimity. Indeed, he seems glad at the prospect rather than otherwise.

> "Personally I do not regret," he says, "the probable disappearance of the agricultural laborer in favor of the factory worker, who seems to me a higher type of person from most points of view. Human progress in historical times has been the progress of cities dragging a reluctant countryside in their wake. Synthetic food will substitute the flower garden and the factory for the dunghill and the slaughterhouse, and make the city at last self-sufficient."

But what about the green fields, and the forests, and the brooks, and the birds, and all the other things that make unspoiled Nature lovely? Are man and his cities really to conquer everything? Are we never to see anything natural and verdant in the future except in parks and garden-plots? If so, then we believe we have found one more article in the indictment of science as a destroyer and thus an abomination.

"Grave Consequences"

I am writing from the Pacific Coast. I have in mind the Japanese Exclusion Bill. The Coast had a "golden gate" of opportunity to promote world brotherhood swing open to it—but has failed, miserably failed. The sins of the fathers—in Negro slavery—are being visited upon the children. It can't be helped, as far as I can see, since God is just—unless——

I doubt if the Bill represents the real mind of the Coast. If the facts could have been presented to each citizen, I feel certain, this affront to Japan would not have passed. As usual, however, the good people waked up too late—and now, for years, the churches will be apologizing for their failure to practice Christianity, and business men will wonder at their own blindness. Seattle, for example, advertises herself, with pride, as the "door" to the Orient, and to Russia—and yet Seattle seems bent on insulting these two best customers;—and as a matter of fact, Japan is the "doorway" to the East.

I have recently attended several meetings at which the Japanese problem was discussed. They were marked by after-war hysteria. One speaker—generally sane—pictured the "millions and millions and millions" invading our shores. He talked as if the Japanese government was managing a hatching incubator, capable of producing a thousand Japanese babies a month. Another speaker turned glaringly (a sign of departing sanity) upon a questioner, shouting, "Do you want your daughter to marry a Japanese?"

Now I am optimist enough to believe that if one

could sit down quietly with such neurotics and calm their spirits by showing that to put the Japanese along with other nations on a 2 per cent basis (1890 census) would admit less than 200 annually, they would cease being batty on the subject of "invading hordes." But maybe there is no cure for such inflated mentality. It is a case of seeing things at night.

As for this marrying business. My reaction is that marriage would be far more honorable and moral than the white man's adulteries with browns, reds, yellows, blacks—to which the multitudes of half-breeds bear mute witness. The white man is the rake of the world. If he had any decency or honor in this matter, he would not raise the question of other races invading his realm. Far better honorable marriage than dishonorable adultery. The white man who raises this question ought to blush with shame. Exclusion Acts, implying superiority, will only increase the mixture of races, by increasing the conceit and lust of the white man.

As for the blending of races, it's coming to pass anyway. Recognition of mankind as one family is growing. World brotherhood is on the way. Exclusion acts may halt but not stop it. Better that it come in love without prejudice, hysteria or violence.

The passage of the Act came to me like a bell in the night—with alarm. For America to trifle with a friendship of seventy years' standing—affecting trade, religion, politics, even the peace of the world—seems to be incredible. America seems to me to be facing one of the most critical situations of her existence. Does this mean frankly cutting the world into two parts—in hostility? The plain inference is that the Japanese are not good enough to associate with Americans—an appalling intimation.

The Act was passed in a fluke of time. The anti-Japanese agitators took advantage of the Ambassador's letter to Secretary Hughes, and the period of after-war reaction that still has the country in its grip, showing itself in Kluxism, flag-worship and "Americanism" (a period sure to pass). In a few years there will be many thousands of Americans—the majority of these on the Coast—who will regret the passage of the law. The stars in their courses are running the other way. It is a triumph of provincialism and fear—and such triumphs are not permanent.

"Grave consequences" will be immediately felt in the spiritual relationships between the two peoples. International friendship is a great asset. Commerce is also sure to be affected—seriously. Japan will seek other lands for education, for trade. Japan, China, India, with possibly Russia, will be drawn together. This will lead to the gradual expulsion of America from the Orient. America cannot insult great peoples and expect to do business with them.

This offense to Japan comes at an inopportune time for us. In my judgment, America is passing into a period of business depression, similar to that through which the countries of Europe have gone and are going. Wisdom dictated that America should hold fast to her present resources and friends. On the eve of a period of depression, to offend the whole Orient is suicidal.

With the Exclusion Act a law—what then? Very grave consequences cannot possibly be averted. They may be lessened, however. How? This is the problem of the Christian citizen—to heal when he cannot prevent, to construct in the midst of destruction.

What can be done? First, try to make the fact of exclusion the ground and reason for removal of all fear of them. This will be difficult—for the "savage mind" that "sees things at night" will make shapes out of other baseless fabric. The liar is able to create a universe out of nothing. However, I hope that exclusion will calm the fears of nervous citizens.

Second, organizations like churches should make it plain to the Japanese people that the Act of Congress misrepresents them. May I say, for example, that I have written the Japanese consul, expressing by shame over this piece of legislation. I should be glad to be one of a group of citizens who would go to Japan and publicly apologize to the people for this action of our law-makers. I would do it in the interests of the honor of our country. In every possible way—sermons, editorials, individual acts and courtesies to local Japanese—Americans should make it clear that their own relationship with Japanese had not been affected, except for the better.

This Act of exclusion should act as a spur to every one of good will to strengthen the ties that bind the peoples of earth. Fealty to world-brotherhood should be re-sworn by all believers. The debt of America to the Orient, to Japan, should be reviewed. America should be made to see that while this act will tend to produce solidarity among the Oriental peoples against herself, it will also bring division and weakness within herself. If this unfriendly act of exclusion can be made a spur to the conscience and intelligence of America—the consequences sure to be "grave," if unheeded, may be turned into blessings—the wrath of man being made to work out the righteousness of God.

At this moment the situation looks to me to be tragic. I tremble over what my eyes see in the not distant future. I have great sorrow that America is so foolish, in choosing to lose so much, while gaining nothing. In the end, America is sure to be the loser—far more than Japan.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

We never get tired of reading what people say about Bolshevism. Here is the latest—from *Bibliotheca Sacra!*

> Bolshevism, in contradiction to the teaching of our Lord that each one should serve everybody, decrees that no one shall serve anybody, and enthrones selfishness supreme.

The utter unselfishness of capitalism, and its complete conformity with "the teaching of our Lord," is, we presume, the standpoint from which this judgment is spoken.

Birds of a feather flock together. Water seeks its own level. The ex-Kaiser has joined the Fascisti!

Of 125 faculty members and students of the Garrett Biblical Institute, 124 have declared that under no conditions will they participate in war in the future. The one other student, who refused to take this position, is being lauded by the newspapers as an heroic patriot deserving of the thanks of all true Americans. It's a great occasion, when heroic patriots are in a minority of 1 to 124!

A good saying—pass it along! *The Christian Century* quotes the following from Dean Inge, of St. Paul's, London:

> We are losing our Christianity because Christianity is a creed for heroes, and we are harmless, good-natured little people who want everybody to have a good time.

We were startled almost to the point of paralysis when we read in the *New York Times* the headline—"Buckingham Palace Sold." Is it possible, we gasped, that the Labor regime in England has gone as far as this? But we read on, about "a six-story apartment house, at 547 West 147th Street, 100 feet east of Broadway," and breathed easy once again.

M. Herriot, on the eve of assuming the French Premiership, announces that his first move will be to recognize Soviet Russia! Thus does the good work go on, and Mr. Hughes's position become more and more ridiculous. With Russia recognized by Germany, England, Italy and France, not to speak of other lesser countries, the question soon will be, *not* will the United States recognize Russia, but will Russia bother to recognize the United States.

J. H. H.

The Spiritual Significance of Non-Co-operation

I.

Looking over the vast array of meanings and attributes which have come to be associated in literature with the Gandhi non-co-operative movement, it becomes difficult to single any one of them for the purpose of a finite definition. To the man in the street—that is to say, to the man most closely associated with politics, Gandhi's non-co-operative movement is an effort to throw off the yoke of an oppressor, a crippling of England's economic system, both at home and abroad, until she shall relinquish her claim upon India altogether, or, in order to gain India's co-operation, yield a part of her victory to the conquered. But this is a surface definition only, and barren of much that is significant when one studies the movement in all its phases and with regard to all its meanings.

Studying the question of the non-co-operative movement one soon finds it to be not so simple as it looks. It is a problem within a problem, a play within a play, very much as in the Christian drama, exemplified best by Shakespeare, as distinguished from the Grecian, one play is put within another, that the lesser play may serve to create the illusion about the greater play. This we see in "Hamlet," and in a sense Gandhi may be compared to a Hamlet of modern life, the only difference being—speaking now of the drama of "Hamlet" and not of Hamlet the individual—that in Gandhi's movement it is the outer and larger manifestation which is the unreal, and which serves, if one but looks to find it, not so much to obscure the real and lesser manifestation, that is the movement's spiritual significance, as to enhance it. In its spiritual sense, non-co-operation means, to the writer, non-activity with forces which are active, non-being; an apparent withdrawal from outward participation in material movements to a field of inner development.

A speaker at a lecture recently said,

> Meditation is essential to the individual. We must be able to follow one train of thought until we have reached a conclusion; we must be able to make the mind empty of images. We as men are made up of a series and layers of planes. For the higher plane to function it is necessary that the lower be arrested for the time being. This is illustrated by a child running about the room. You ask him how much are two and two. He will stop at once to answer you. The physical stops while the mental works. Then when he has given you his answer he will go on with his play. So just as the boy has to stop his physical activity, one must inhibit his mental activity in order to allow intuition to operate.

As an example of the control of the mind, he gave the illustration of a lesson in concentration, the fastening of the attention upon one object until all mental activity ceases and intuition is released.

May it not be that a nation, as well as an individual, needs to seek this withdrawal into the self in order to find the soul? Gandhi, when all is said and done, may mean with his non-violent, non-co-operative movement for India, not the making of *swadeshi* (homespun) for its own sake, or even for the sake of pressure against Britain in the endeavor to bring about political freedom, but in order that through the concentration of the mental attention upon an object the spirit of India, the nation, may be liberated. Thus we find India withdrawing into herself, on the one hand witnessing the events of the iron age and the iron conqueror whose methods of suppression are so symbolic of the age, but upon the other allowing events to pass unnoticed lest she lose her spiritual poise and be swept away in a

tumult of materialism. It is this striving for poise which may be taken to be the keynote of the religious and spiritual significance of the Gandhi non-co-operative movement.

That non-co-operation, in the sense in which we have used the word, i.e., non-co-operation with active material forces is right, we in the West are not prepared to say. It is quite possible that behind all manifested action there is a scheme of evolution, and that iron—the rails of steel—and all the inventions of the devil of which Gandhi so often speaks, are a very definite part of the evolution, destined to lead us to a period in the world's history from which we cannot escape. That we close our eyes wilfully to material things, the so-called "realities" of the western world, allowing them to pass us by, is no evidence that the right course has been taken. So long as we are in a stage of evolution, evolving, we hope, toward a spiritual civilization and a freed humanity, so long as iron is iron, and not steel, and steel, steel, and not some higher product, there is work in the evolutionary process to be done, and for the great mass of individuals it is work needful, not only for the good of the country to which we happen to belong, but for individual growth and evolution as well.

In its economic significance, Gandhi's movement is obviously an effort on the part of the people to become self-sustaining. It is not enough, alone, that India should fail, or refuse, to co-operate with the conqueror, but, in order to survive as a nation, she must learn to spin and weave, and to feed and clothe herself without dependence on any other nation. This she has done in the past; Gandhi says she must learn to do it again. If she does not, the nation which has superimposed itself upon her may become indispensable—India nationally will be dependent upon Britain economically. The encroachments of economical dependence are insidious: Gandhi in this respect at least has sounded a cry of warning. That economic freedom and independence are necessary to the life of any nation whose pretense is to national existence is apparent to everyone. Self-sustenance is the highest aim of an individual, in economics at least, and perhaps in spirituality, and a union of self-respecting, self-sustaining individuals is one of the highest ends at which a nation can aim. This was one of the ideals of Confucius in his founding of a Chinese national life, and again and again we find it reiterated in his writings.

To the man who wishes political freedom for India, non-co-operation seems the best plan yet devised by anyone. But to others, who would see India reach freedom through freedom, poise and spiritual complacency *after* action, it is good only in its aspect of making India a self-sustaining nation. But cotton goods made in India mean cotton goods not made in England. A stomach, under the present system of civilization, filled in one geographic location means a stomach empty in another. And this is a condition of affairs which is extending rather than diminishing.

This brings us back, of course, to the religious ideal, that of participation and non-participation in the same moment, if this can be conceived; a conscious withdrawing yet at the same time remaining active. Beyond India as a nation, and beyond Britain as a conqueror, there is another entity. This is the humanity of *Vaswani;* the internationalism of nations, not the nationalism. But to approach a league of nations in which poise and balance would be maintained, the poise and balance of the individual nations making up the league must also be complete. For India today, no other thing is possible than—I was on the point of saying—non-co-operation. The dream of a super-nation, a league of nations or of humankind, cannot be worked out while the individuals making up such a nation have not worked out their individual *Kärma,* and are still at a point where the state is not the highest that it may be. A league of nations cannot reach its highest until the nations composing it are at their highest, and so on down the line until you come to the individual; the ideal of each state being a group of self-respecting, self-sustaining individuals and, if it be a free state, of free individuals. That this is not possible for India today is almost to be conceded. It is doubtful if it is possible for any nation, although in some nations perhaps a movement in this direction has been begun.

II.

The non-co-operative movement with its negative material aspect, and its positive spiritual aspect is very important, and very ambiguous. It is like a mirror giving many reflections.

There is a spiritual meaning of the movement, however, which has not been much touched upon, and it is this which is communicating itself to the western world. It is not the teaching of Gandhi, the liberator, in regard to a political situation, or the teaching of Gandhi, the conserver, in regard to economics, which is pervading the countries of the world into which Gandhi's teachings have gone. Political and economic lessons in the past have not blazed trails. To this we make exception in favor of revolution, but revolution even is not so much a communicating entity as an independent force which seems to appear here for a time, and then to disappear, only to appear somewhere else at a later date, without any visible channel of communication.

But religious teaching is another matter. It communicates itself by word of mouth, and from one to another, with almost lightning speed and thoroughness, and if we search for the reason for the traveling about and communication of Gandhi's doctrine of non-co-operation from one nation to another we shall find it in the religious significance of the movement. There has never been a truly religious teaching which has not gone out from the center in which it was begun, to spread itself throughout the nations, and inversely we may be fairly certain that a movement which has traveled so far and wide as Gandhi's has not done so without a religious *motif* behind it.

We come, therefore, to non-co-operation as a movement concerned not only with the attempt to throw off the yoke of an oppressor, or even the attempt to build up a group of self-sustaining individuals, who in turn would provide the basis for a self-sustaining nation, but with religion also.

In the teachings of Laotze there is a statement that from the silence all things will come. Behind India's concentration upon the making of homespun and the pursuance of *swaraj*—non-co-operation—there is the touching upon a spiritual force, the reading of a great nation into the realm of silence in which all things are made manifest.

It is not the fact of "non-resistance"—which is, in a sense, the antithesis of non-co-operation, the "play within the play"—which will make India's future possible, but the fact that in non-resistance opportunity is given for all things to manifest themselves. One thinks of dreaming and becoming, of dwelling in thought—

poise brought about in the effort of concentration and the liberation of spiritual forces otherwise penned up —and the power which would come from such a dwelling! It is this which is the spiritual significance of Gandhi's movement—the conscious withdrawal into the self, until the dangers which threatened have passed, the conservation of energies, and the holding of the nation together in the spiritual integrity which it once had and will have again, in order to maintain poise and allow the working of a diviner law than that of man to take place, the manifestation of the silence made real.

Gandhi's movement is a movement with a principle behind it. Whether this principle is right or wrong we in the West are not prepared to say, but it is only in a study of the religious principle underlying Gandhi's movement that we shall find something of the spiritual nature of the man behind it.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER.

The Restoration of the Church Which Jesus Planned

The great need of our day is an organized religious movement expressing the principles of co-operation and world unity.

From both conservatives and radicals comes the objection that this is not religion but sociology. To this I would reply that true religion is true sociology learned emotionally as well as intellectually, and thus reaching the springs of human conduct. In its historic sense religion is a philosophy of life; the answer to the question, what is the chief aim of man? What is the ultimate good? How can one secure health, safety, and happiness? These questions are basic in all religion.

The religion of Jesus was the logical development of that of the Hebrew prophets. If Christians would cease trying to torture the plain words of those prophets into making them give forth a mystic meaning they would find that they consist almost wholly of pronouncements upon social domestic problems and upon political questions of national and international importance in the day in which they were written. Paraphrased in terms of modern life the writings of such prophets as Micah and Amos read much like those of a radical propagandist of our own time.

We do not understand the religion of Jesus until we recognize him as the culmination of the great line of social prophets of Israel. He did not discuss theology. He did not find fault with men's faulty notions of God and of the future life. He concerned himself with their faulty attitude towards their fellowmen and towards the affairs of this life. Here and there we find in the record some peculiar and disjointed utterances such as those giving his disciples power to remit and to retain sins, giving the keys of heaven and hell to Peter, but these have all the ear-marks of interpolations; for we know that the original text was, in the early centuries, very much corrupted.

There is indeed no doubt among modern scholars that Jesus' teaching was not a system of theology but a way of living. For a long time his religion was known among his followers as "the way." He founded a loosely-organized brotherhood for the teaching and practice of the way of living.

We also know something of the story of the development and perversion of the simple ecclesia of Jesus into the historic Church which has become the greatest apologist for all forms of exploitation and oppression. What is now needed is a religious revolution which will once more undertake the work which Jesus began. We must organize the religion of humanity, not in terms of the life of Jesus' day, but in his spirit, and in terms of the needs and understanding of our own times. What folly it is for an enlightened friend of humanity to seek religious fellowship in a church whose membership has, in general, little sympathy with the enemies of militarism, capitalism, and imperialism, but agrees with his views on eschatology!

It may be objected that, since the word religion has become identified with mysticism, magic, and priestly rites, it would be far better to choose another word. There are too many and urgent reasons against doing this. It is historically and psychologically the right word.

Religion deals with the emotions; and the principles of humanitarianism need to be learned emotionally. Ideas that are embraced as a mere bit of intellectualism are held as lightly and as barrenly as one's opinions of the mountains in the moon. Thus it was that the rush of war-time patriotism swept away the Socialists' theories of internationalism. A pagan patriotism and a devotion to the economic status quo is a very fundamental part of the religion of the mammonized Church.

Another good reason for the use of the word religion in such a movement is its strategic value. It has become a part of the subconscious thought of the modern world that religious liberty must not be abridged. It is folly to run into persecution when one can avoid it without any sacrifice of principle. It is even greater folly to refuse the use of a name to which one is justly entitled when that name gives both protection and a hearing. The Quakers are accorded the rights of non-combatants because their religious tenets forbid their taking part in war. Boards of health allow Christian Scientists a great deal of latitude in order to avoid the appearance of interference with religious liberty.

The greatest reason for the use of the word is that the organization of such a movement for world unity and social justice as a religion would bring confusion into the ranks of the enemy. Declaring for the oneness of the interests of mankind and consequently against taking part in any future wars, it would, at this critical time, force action on the question of the outlawing of war in every organized religious body in Christendom.

Logically we would declare capitalism and imperialism to be evils and pledge ourselves to work for their abolition, and thus remove the cause of war as well as of a host of other human ills. At the same time we would declare for the practice of brotherhood by the gradual establishment of co-operation to take the place of the present vicious system which puts a premium upon the surviving baser instincts of mankind.

While recognizing that human nature cannot be made moral by any form of terrorism or prison punishment, we would face the grave danger of self-indulgence and the urgent need for a spiritual preparation to meet the demands of a highly organized civilization. Consequently one of the prime purposes of such a movement must be the inculcation of a love of wholesome living, "acting the law we live by without fear." We

must teach people to incorporate into their religion that element of the religion of old Greece which scorned the dominion of sensual appetite and reverenced the ideal of a sound mind in a sound body.

Of course we must leave our members free to hold what opinions they may regarding the mystery of life. In this we show not less reverence but more than those who would bind us with theological creeds. We are fighting for justice and brotherhood because to us this appears to be a moral universe. Had we not this faith there would be no meaning in our plans and ideals. The old-fashioned religionists assert that "God is incomprehensible, without body, parts or passions." In this we agree with them. But they then proceed to formulate definitions of what they have declared to be incomprehensible, to set limits to the Infinite, and worse than all, insist that there is no hope for anybody who does not accept their definitions and limitations.

We must be content to leave the Incomprehensible uncomprehended, though with Emerson we may see that the universe orbs itself in every dew-drop, and that God appears in all his parts in every moss and fern. In this field there is room for an almost infinite variety of opinions, for all may be arcs of the infinite circle of truth. On such questions therefore we will not make divisions, but we will unite on the great affirmations of human unity and justice, and we will look for the highest manifestations of divinity in human life.

When we consider the problem of organization we must also face the fact that it is the machinery of the Christian Church which has made it the hand-maiden of the selfishly powerful. The current expense account of the Church includes many artificial and useless but none the less insistent wants. Strange as it may seem, the upkeep of Protestantism costs far more than Catholicism, and the average Protestant Church, being on a narrower economic base, is more under the control of the man who has the money to pay the bills.

What a waste of human energy is shown in the great majority of American churches! The futile, needless, chore boy tasks of the minister; the perfunctory parish calls; the sermons—usually approved when lacking in originality and honest thought—telling the old old story in slightly varying language; the small number of people reached; all show the enslavement of human minds to an institution whose purpose has been perverted and which long ago became a drag upon the wheels of progress. In all of this we have not considered the waste of money and of energy in the maintenance of more or less costly establishments that are in use less than five per cent of the time, and then in very inadequate use.

Why should we not model the restored ecclesia after that of the first century? What could be more in accord with the spirit of democracy and brotherhood? And what could better suit our needs and purposes? No doubt some modifications would have to be made to meet present day conditions. But it has been the ground plan of nearly every fresh religious movement of our era.

Briefly then, the plan of organization is this: a brotherhood for mutual support, counsel and co-operation; for the spread of the principles of freedom, enlightenment, and fraternity; and this organization to have branches wherever seven or eight members can be obtained, each local to be a center of education, holding regularly weekly meetings for the discussion of the great questions of the day, and assisted by the advice and information of the general body.

Of course it will be necessary to have a force of paid teachers, inspirational lecturers, and organizers; but they would have a much wider field for work than the clergy of the old Church. They would be given the territory of at least twenty-five local organizations. Such men and women would require a broad education and a wide acquaintance with the world of human affairs. We would stand in special need of men who would make good propagandists and organizers.

But the most important feature of the organization would be its thoroughly democratic character and its making the utmost possible use of the talents of its lay members in carrying out the program of the weekly assembly and in extension work in the local community.

What is the use of looking for anything from the perverted Church? Some people claim that the Church is really moving forward. Without doubt that is true, for even British Toryism moves forward just as the rear of the procession moves as well as the van. But of what use is a Church—a religious leadership—which does not lead but has to be pulled along and pushed along by forces external to it? It is helplessly and hopelessly tied with ecclesiastical dogmatism, denominational politics, sectarian traditions, and its alliance with reactionary interests for the sake of financial support. All of these elements make it the most powerful conservative force in the life of our day. The great majority of its members do not take it seriously. It is like the Bible on the parlor table,—a badge of conventional respectability. People usually select their churches—when they make any such selection—on the basis of their social connections. In "society" a family's church affiliations frequently depend on the controlling influence in the bridge club to which the wife and mother belongs. In such circles the wife accepts her husband's political party, and the husband accepts his wife's Church; and the result is bad politics and an equally worthless type of religion. Why bother any longer with the derelict Church? Fortunately it is failing. It would be tragic were it prospering.

ERNEST WHITESMITH.

Bishop Freeman, the new Bishop of Washington, in a brochure on the Cathedral he and his associates are building, says in a fine rhetorical flight: "From its pulpit should be heard the greatest prophets, clerical and lay, that the world recognizes and honors." Does not the good bishop know that the only recognition the world has ever given to the Prophets of God has been the stoning of them, and that a Prophet honored by the world, is not a Prophet of God at all?—*The Social Preparation* (Episcopal).

Dr. Wendte's Eightieth Birthday

[From a letter by Dr. J. T. Sunderland to Rev. Clarence Reed, Oakland, California, Secretary Committee on Eightieth Birthday Reception for Dr. Charles W. Wendte, dated New York, May 13, 1924.]

I am glad Dr. Wendte has reached the interesting age of eighty years; and I am glad you are duly celebrating the same. To be sure, reaching eighty, of itself, is not a very difficult thing to do, if only you just wait long enough; that is to say, if only you just keep right on going to bed at night and getting up in the morning, and don't stop. I know, for I have tried it myself. The whole secret is, you mustn't be a quitter. You must *persist*—persist in eating and sleeping, and walking and talking, and putting on your collar and necktie every morning, and using Pear's soap, and such like things; and then, before you know it, on some fine morning, your eightieth birthday will just quietly walk in on you, bowing as politely and smiling as blandly as if it were birthday number eighteen, or number twenty.

But, while being eighty years old is thus very easy, if only you do the simple things which I suggest, there is something else which is not so easy, in fact, which is very, very difficult; and that is, to fill your eighty years with such high things—such ideals and achievements as those with which Dr. Wendte has filled, filled full to the brim, pressed down and running over, his fourscore years,—ideals and achievements which have made all Unitarians in this country and most of those in other lands, and thousands and thousands of other men and women, not Unitarians, at home and abroad, know him and honor him and love him.

For more than half a century I have known the man whose eightieth birthday we celebrate today. His hand was one of the first three extended to me in brotherly welcome when, fifty-two years ago, I left the ministry of the Baptist church and came, eagerly but hesitatingly and fearfully, inquiring whether there was a place for me in the ministry of a free church,—the other two warm welcoming hands being those of Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Robert Collyer,—great Unitarian souls of blessed memory! All these more than half a hundred years I have enjoyed and prized Charles Wendte's friendship, looking up to him as one who was wiser than I, and who by his ability, ardor and devotion, has never failed to be an inspiration to me in my ministry.

Twice it has been my fortune to follow him in pastorates—once for three years in Chicago, when he left the church which he had established there and went to Cincinnati, and later for a year in Oakland, Calif., when he left the strong church which he had founded in that important city. With so long and intimate acquaintance, I could write many things about him. I could tell many stories, all of them interesting and some of them funny. But I will be merciful. I hope the letters of others will contain humor; but I want to speak seriously and out of my heart.

From an unknown writer of the Old Testament, we have a sentence of deep significance: "Where there is no vision the people perish." In my judgment, the greatest lack of the Unitarian movement in America, during the fifty years that Dr. Wendte and I have been connected with it, has been lack of vision; I mean, lack of bold and constructive imagination; inadequate understanding of the importance to this country and to humanity of the Unitarian movement; lack of realization of the greatness of the Unitarian gospel and the whole world's need of it; limited views of what we ought to be doing and attempting as a denomination; lack of initiative, lack of daring, unwillingness to launch out, provincialism, contentment to be small, lack of that spirit of pioneership and daring possessed by Paul, which said: "Not Palestine alone, not the Jews alone?—I go to the great world of the Gentiles"; the kind which, in our day, the Salvation Army and the Christian Science leaders have manifested so clearly, which declared: "Our mission shall not be confined to London or Boston, or even to England or America; all lands and all nations shall be our field."

This lack of vision, this timidity, this content with little things, has never been seen in Charles Wendte. But the splendid opposite! More than any other man in our whole Unitarian body—I make no exception—he has always taken the large view. More than any other man among us he has had the wisdom and courage to plan great things. He has been our ablest initiator; in organizing and executive matters he has been our truest pioneer. Far more than any other leader among us he has been our Unitarian Paul, our Unitarian General Booth. We have had many strong thinkers, many eminent scholars, many great preachers; but we have had no other leader with so keen, active, and wide reaching a missionary spirit; no other with such ability to initiate, to see new openings, to think of new ways of extending our religious work; no other with so clear a vision of the large things which we ought to be undertaking. While the field of most of us has been limited to our own parish, or at most, to our own town or city, Dr. Wendte's field has been the world. Even a rapid and partial glance over his fifty-five years in the ministry shows the truth of what I am saying.

In Chicago, where he had his first parish, he not only planted a church and built a beautiful house of worship, but, launching out into the field of public activity, he established for that young and rapidly growing city an important institution of industrial and technical education—the Athenaeum, a sort of Cooper Union, in which more than 25,000 young men and women received valuable, practical training, which they could not obtain elsewhere.

In Cincinnati, in addition to his church work, one of his activities was the inauguration of a great system of Sunday lectures, unsectarian in character and of value to the whole public. Here, too, under his influence sprung into being a unique and most important agency for the propaganda of our Unitarian faith through literature, namely our Post Office Mission. To be sure, the actual initiator of the mission was Miss Ellis, a member of his church. But he, quick to see the importance of what she had begun, encouraged and aided it until its value was universally recognized, and it was taken up as a regular activity of our whole group of churches.

In California, not only did he establish the strong Oakland church, and house it in one of the most perfect edifices for worship and religious work in our body, but he made his missionary activity felt from San Diego to Puget Sound, and I suppose that fully two-thirds of the Unitarian churches now existing on the Pacific Coast owe their origin, in a greater or less

degree, to his activity. Nor is this all. He early began dreaming the great dream of a Unitarian Training School for Ministers, on the Pacific Coast. My year in Oakland showed me clearly that he had set so many others dreaming of the same, that it could only be a question of time when the splendid vision would become a reality. And soon it did. Others have helped greatly and will always be remembered and honored as co-creators of the school. But it will never be forgotten that the first ground was ploughed, the first seed was sown, the first foundation stone was laid (if I may unpardonably mix my metaphors) by Charles Wendte, and that primarily the school is a monument to his foresight, his vision, his indomitable courage and faith.

As a writer Dr. Wendte has rendered large and invaluable service. I doubt if any man of his generation has done more than he through the newspaper press to disseminate Unitarian thought. His tracts are among the very best and most widely circulated that we possess. Of his books I will speak only of his "Life of Starr King," which was needed and which nobody but he could write; and of his Sunday School Singing Books, which were something unique, which manifested nothing less than genius, and which gave to the youth of our religious fellowship a literature of religious worship and song which was new, fresh, popular in the finest sense, and superior in literary, musical and spiritual quality to anything previously produced in this country or England.

While no man among us has been a more loyal Unitarian—more loyal to our ideals, our faith or our name—or a stouter defender of our principles when attacked, no one has been less sectarian, wider in his fellowship, or more eager to co-operate with other Christians and with non-Christians in every kind of activity aiming to promote spiritual and practical religion. The most conspicuous, near-at-hand illustration to this is the National Federation of Religious Liberals, of which he more than anyone else was the originator, and of which until two years ago he was the secretary and central moving force. He wanted a federation wide enough to take in all Christians. But when in 1908 the Protestant churches of this country formed their "Federal Council" and deliberately shut out Liberals, he said,

> Well, let us do the better and the more Christlike thing; let us form an association which shall invite to it all religious bodies and all religious souls that desire "fellowship of the spirit, beyond the line of sect or creed."

And for twelve years under that broad flag he organized and carried to success great annual congresses, in Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Boston, Baltimore, and other cities, which drew together unfettered and forward-looking religious souls of every name—Unitarian, Universalist, Quaker, Reform Jew, Liberal Orthodox, Ethical Culture, and Independent, to conduct some of the ablest discussions of Liberal religion that this country has ever known. I doubt if any other single agency in the country's history has done more to advance the cause of a free, ethical, and practical Christianity in America, than those great national Liberal Congresses.

But Dr. Wendte's vision has been wider than this country,—as I have said, it has included the world. This has been his peculiar distinction; in this he has been our most eminent leader.

Although no other Christian denomination possesses a gospel which is so universal as ours, or which is so warmly welcomed by leading minds in all non-Christian lands, yet, amazing as the fact seems, we have been the least missionary of Christian bodies; we have done less than any other denomination to give our gospel to the world. No one has regretted this more than Dr. Wendte, no one has more clearly or oftener pointed out the disgrace and wrong of it, or has done more to awaken our churches to their unequalled and world-wide opportunities and responsibilities.

For fifteen years he was the Foreign Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. Because of the limited vision of the Directors of the Association, and their lack of interest in any efforts to extend the Unitarian faith beyond our own country, only very meagre funds were placed at his disposal for foreign work. Yet in spite of this handicap, not a little foreign work was done, not a little that was important; for example, in upholding the hands of Dr. MacCauley in Japan, in corresponding with and encouraging isolated Unitarian thinkers in many parts of the world, and in aiding struggling Liberal movements, especially beginnings of new movements, in half a dozen or more countries of Europe, and in several of Asia and Central and South America. It was the greatest of pities that he could not have been furnished ten times, twenty times, more money for this important and wide-reaching work.

But the greatest of Dr. Wendte's achievements in making the Unitarian faith known, respected, and honored far beyond this country, I have not yet mentioned. I refer to his work in connection with the Seven Great International Congresses of Liberal Religion, created and carried to an amazing degree of success by himself and others (primarily through his own initiative, ability, and untiring energy), in Boston, London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Berlin, and Paris. The spirit of these international gatherings was that of the great Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893, which, for the first time in human history, had brought together eminent representatives of all the great religions of the world, not as antagonists, not to condemn or even criticize one another, but to confer together as friends and brothers regarding the things of the soul, the deep ethical and spiritual realities at the heart of all religions. In the five of these "International Congresses" which were held on the other side of the Atlantic, I may almost say that the great Chicago Parliament of Religions was transferred to Europe, although in a different form. And what is more than that, except for the War of 1914-1918, which broke up Dr. Wendte's great plans, a chain of the same kind of International Liberal Congresses—such a chain as was never dreamed of before—would have been extended virtually around the world,—to Jerusalem, the sacred city of Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans; to Cairo in Egypt, the literary center of the Mohammedan world; to the four great cities of India, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore; to Colombo in Ceylon, the educational center of Buddhism; to Shanghai, the commercial emporium of China, and to Tokyo, the capital city of Japan, and finally to San Francisco, in connection with the great exposition there of 1915. Plans for all these great Congresses were well advanced, when the terrible Armageddon crashed down upon Europe and brought everything to ruin.

It is not too much to say that the great Congresses in Europe, which drew together representatives from nearly a hundred religious bodies, in thirty different

nations, called attention to Liberal religious thought—to Unitarian thought—and gave it a standing in all parts of the European continent, such as nothing before had ever done. Nor is it too much to say that if the Congresses planned for the Near East and the Orient could have been carried out as expected, they would have made known the spirit and the principles of the Unitarian faith throughout all northern Africa and nearly the whole of Asia as nothing had ever done. For the first time Unitarianism would have attracted the attention of practically the whole world, as a religious movement of world-wide interest and importance.

In Dr. Wendte's long continued, fruitful and many-sided work in America, as I have imperfectly hinted it, is illustrated what I mean by his unusual power of initiative, his great ability as a practical planner and organizer, and his leadership as a propagandist and missionary of our faith at home. All this, if there were nothing else, would give him an exceptionally high place of honor among us. His foreign missionary spirit, his world-wide vision, his daring and true conception of our Unitarian faith as a thing of world concern, and the unique, arduous and masterly work that he has done to let the light of it shine over the world, give him a special and unique place,—a place in this very important respect higher than that of any other leader in all our history.

In the past half century, American Unitarianism has had three men with a world vision. They are Clay MacCauley, who gave nearly thirty of the best years of his life to the high task of letting Japan know that there is a form of Christianity worthy the attention and the acceptance of her most intelligent men; Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who more than any other was the creator and inspirer of the great Chicago Parliament of Religions, and Charles W. Wendte, who through his work as Foreign Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, and especially through the great Liberal Congresses which he created in Europe and planned for Asia, did more than any other man has ever done to draw the Liberal religious leaders of all names and all lands into knowledge of and co-operation with one another, and to lift up the banner of Liberal, unsectarian, progressive, spiritual, practical Christianity in the sight of the whole world and as a gospel for the whole world.

Dr. Wendte claims to be eighty years old. But what of that? Notwithstanding the great life work which he has already done, there are three things more which I at least want him to do. First, I want him, as I know we all do, to live on and work on and write on for many more years, with his splendid spiritual vision undimmed and his optimism and courage unabated, as an example and inspiration to all the rest of us.

Second, I want him, if possible, to make a tour—an extended and carefully planned missionary tour—around the world, in the interest of Liberal religion;—a tour through Europe, of course, where he has so often been and where he is so well known to religious leaders of every name; and also, as not less important, a tour through the Orient, where he has not been, but where he is hardly less well known than in Europe. I do not think I am wild or extravagant when I say that because of his recognized world-wide religious sympathies and activities, I believe he would receive a wider and warmer welcome among leaders of every one of the great historical faiths of the East—Hindu, Buddhist, Mohammedan, Parsee, Confucian, and Shinto, than has ever been extended to any other representative of American Christianity.

Third, I want, and we all want Dr. Wendte to complete that Autobiography, which we are all glad to know he is writing, and which I more than suspect will tell us a more interesting, comprehensive, and inspiring story of liberal religion in this country and far beyond than has ever been written.

I close with the wish and prayer that Dr. Wendte may live on in health and vigor and increasingly honored and loved, at least to celebrate his ninetieth birthday. And may we all be there!

Ladies and Gentlemen of the American Peace Award:

I have not known what to do with the proposed Peace Plan, except, using your kind indulgence, to write this brief reply to your questions, without signing the card.

(A) I cannot see more than a remote connection between the Prize Plan and the great object—Permanent Peace. There is no attempt closely to grapple with the appalling evil of war.

(I) I see little use for the nation or the individual to prepare for litigation in advance of the need. Let us keep out of Courts if we can, while pledged and always ready, if necessary, in all cases to use some appropriate form of arbitration. The disposition to be just to all men is the great thing, without which the best Court offers a fresh field for possible friction.

(II) The position of a nation which desires to sit in with a League of Nations, without full membership seems obscure and anomalous. I cannot think that the present oligarchical constitution of the League would open the door for such half-way membership, or that our Senate would sanction it.

(1) I am grateful to your Committee for stressing the declaration of the Prize Plan, "that the only kind of compulsion which nations can freely engage to apply to each other in the name of Peace is that which arises from conference, from moral judgment, from full publicity, and from the power of public opinion." Ought not the Senate of the United States to be now urged to make a public assurance that our nation proposes henceforth to trust in and employ only this method of friendly pressure in all our dealings with other nations?

(2) I believe that the Monroe Doctrine having long outgrown whatever usefulness it had, ought to be "scrapped" as a dangerous, meddlesome, and imperialistic pretension to the hegemony of the Western Continent, obnoxious to the peoples South of us, and provocative and distasteful towards the nations overseas. As now held, the Doctrine has become the most subtle story of American militarism.

(3) This Section in your brief does not go far enough. We need to move for something more creative and purifying to the conscience of the world, namely, the complete removal from the Versailles Treaty of the cruel falsehood which charges Germany with the sole blame for the war and makes her people responsible for egregious reparations. How can we

look for permanent peace while we remain a party to a colossal injustice?

(4) Of course, we can afford to see no pariah nation outside of any general League which we may join. In fact the cheerfulness of our welcome to Germany, Russia, Turkey, and Mexico will be the measure of our sincerity as a democratic people.

(5) We see little use for the present in drawing or codifying laws. "International Law" is now overweighted with the traditions of bloody and barbarous times. The less legislation, the less scope for disagreements and quarrels. The group of sixty or more nations ought to be like a room-full of neighbors, who know how to behave and propose to treat one another as gentlemen. They will easily develop such rules of behavior as they need, as soon as they agree to carry no murderous weapons in one another's company.

Yours respectfully,
CHARLES F. DOLE,
President of the Association to Abolish War.

CORRESPONDENCE

MR. PIPER AGAIN ON THE CHURCHES

Editor of UNITY:

I have read the reply to my outburst, as printed in UNITY of May 1. If indeed I have done you an injustice I offer sincere apology, as I have had no thought of that. I submit, though, that the last portion of your reply does not go well with the admission that you have spoken frequently of the "collapse of the churches." That is to say, one who is investigating scientifically does not usually reach a conclusion so sweeping while still collecting data on which to base his conclusion. It is here that I really meant to "score a hit," rather than anywhere else.

You seem to have pinned me down to facts pretty severely in your citations. I have not kept the files of UNITY, and I have no doubt of the correctness of the citations made. Nevertheless, I believe you have overlooked some which you might have cited. Some time ago, I am sure, one of your articles spoke of the churches of Cincinnati in rather sweeping terms as having been practically empty on a certain night when you spoke elsewhere in the town to a crowded house. Probably other instances could be found if one cared to be measurably thorough. I have kept pretty close to Cincinnati church conditions, and I know that they are among the worst in the country, if we measure church attendance totals by the total population. But I have never found the churches deserted, and have found good audiences in the larger churches on many visits made within the past ten years.

I am aware that the phrase, "the collapse of the churches," may include much else besides attendance and membership statistics; and I am sure you yourself would not measure the worth of the churches by so inadequate a standard; but I feel that the impression given to the general reader of your articles is one not calculated to inspire confidence in the scientific character of your judgments. This view may be erroneous, but is based on no desire to defend the churches.

It seems to me you have gathered a mistaken impression of my reference to your reports of the large gatherings that have heard you speak. Comparisons, to be sure, are odious, and usually detract from the force of the statistics offered concerning the state of the churches. But I have not doubted that in cities where open-minded, intelligent people abide, a prophet usually wins a large audience. Whether I always agree with your deductions or not, I assure you that I agree with your spirit. If you were doing nothing more than to make people think out for themselves the foundations of their social, economic, and spiritual faith, you would be rendering an indispensable—and almost a unique—service to our age. I repeat, however, that I cannot admit that your method of gathering casual data from observations, and jotting them down from time to time is "scientific." I consider it anything but that, if upon them you base any conclusions whatever. Science is more thorough-going and systematic, and reserves its conclusions much more carefully for a final analysis of the data than you seem to do. Well, prophets are rarely scientific.

Yours sincerely,
DAVID R. PIPER.

A REPLY

Dear Mr. Piper:

I greatly admire the courtesy and good nature of your letter just received. I feel sure that you are entitled to a further word in our little discussion and I am, therefore, publishing this second letter of yours in UNITY with just a word or two of my own, not in reply, but in explanation.

In going back over the files of UNITY to check your statement about what I had said about church audiences, I stopped when I had covered the period of a year. I had to stop somewhere and I thought that this period was adequate as the basis for a fair test of your criticism. Within this period I covered every article published, and quoted every reference which I made to church congregations and my own audiences. The Cincinnati article to which you refer appeared in UNITY of March 15th, 1923. In this article I find that I spoke of attending on Sunday morning "a church labelled with one of the largest and most influential denominations in the country" and counted there an audience of 63 persons. I stated that "there may have been a few more—but the congregation was certainly not more than 75." I followed this with a description of my afternoon service at Herbert S. Bigelow's Peoples Church in the Cox Theatre where I said "I found an audience which filled the main floor of the auditorium and overflowed a little into the balcony." I think that even this article does not justify the indictment which you directed against me. Is this not so?

I very much agree with you that observations gathered from casual data do not constitute true scientific investigation. On the other hand, however, I believe that such data is important and is worthy of being recorded as evidence. This is what I have tried to do in UNITY. My conclusion as to "the collapse of the churches" is based on a broader foundation than this data gathered from my own experience. I base it on letters and speeches which have come to my attention, on such a report as that of Gifford Pinchot years ago on the rural situation, on some of those amazing reports made by the Inter Church World Movement, on such books as Fitch's "Can the Church Survive the Changing Order?" and Drake's "Shall We Stand by the Church?" the titles of which tell the story. Furthermore, there is the impressive evidence of the Community Church movment in which you and I are together so greatly interested. This movement demonstrates to my mind that the denominational churches are now disintegrating and will eventually disappear. In saying all this, I am, of course, speaking of churches as they exist today and not of the church as a social institution. These churches may and I believe will disappear but the church will endure in the changing forms dictated by each new age.

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

THE LEASH.

Pain is the bite of the emery wheel;
The grilling torture of the turning lathe;
The gnaw of the acid in the crucible;
The sting of the refiner's purifying fire;
The compelling touch of the potter's hand;
The cold keen cut of the sculptor's chisel;
The clean cleft of the pruning knife;
The evidence of the presence of life;
The pledge of a greater possibility;
The preserver of physical life;
The guardian of spiritual life;
Growth's bursting of confining shackles;
Truth's arrow in the heart of error;
The great revealer;
The prod that wakes the sleeping soul
And bids it dare
To blaze the trail of progress,
Then forward—comrade! On thy way!
To upland plains and wider confines!—
And bless the Maker of mankind
For man's pain, the subtle chain
With which He holds man to His mind!

MABEL F. BLAKESLEE.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE METHODIST RESOLUTIONS AGAINST WAR

(Passed at the meeting of the General Conference at Springfield, Mass., on Saturday, May 24th)

Millions of our fellow men have died heroically in "a war to end war." What they undertook we must finish by methods of peace. War is not inevitable. It is the supreme enemy of mankind. Its futility is beyond question. Its continuance is the suicide of civilization. We are determined to outlaw the whole war system.

The patriotism of the Methodist Episcopal Church has never been challenged. Neither our motives nor our loyalty must be impugned when we insist on the fulfilment of the pledges made to the dead and assert our Christian ideals for the living. Governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace cannot justly claim the lives of men in time of war. Secret diplomacy and political partisanship must not draw men into the dilemma of deciding between support of country and loyalty to Christ.

The world is now open to a crusade for peace. War weary nations everywhere are eagerly waiting. America must lead the way. Our Nation and our church can do now what we may never be able to do again.

We set ourselves to create the will to peace. We recommend that a prayer for peace be prepared and used at every communion service. Through its educational program our church must mould the present youth of all races into a peace-loving generation. We shall launch an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. The glorification of war must end.

We set ourselves to create the conditions for peace. Selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism must cease. The establishment of the principle that conscription of wealth and labor must be the counterpart of any future conscription of human life will be a powerful deterrent against war.

As great odium must be put upon the war profiteer as was ever put upon the slacker. The protection of special privileges secured by investors in foreign lands has too often imperiled the peace of nations. This source of danger must be prevented. The rights of the smallest nation must be held as sacred as those of the strongest. We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance, and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us.

We set ourselves to create organization for peace. Grateful to our Government for its leadership in the movement toward reduction of armaments and the promotion of tribunals for international arbitration; we insist upon a more decided and aggressive policy in these directions.

We urge our President to summon another conference of the nations for the more drastic reduction of armaments. We demand the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The participation of the United States in a league of nations will receive our active support. We shall elect men to public office pledged to secure these ends. The ballot and other direct processes of democracy must now be employed in securing a warless world.

World Christianity is enlisting in the campaign for peace. We seek alliance with all the forces which make for the principles here advocated. We, therefore, propose that our church now assume its responsibility by appointing at this General Conference a commission of twenty-five members, composed of five Bishops, ten ministers and ten laymen, authorized and instructed to call a conference of the religious forces of the world to consider the best plans and methods for making the impact of united Christendom against the evils we deplore.

The principles of brotherhood are plainly challenged. The progress of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ is clearly at stake. The issues are so momentous, the opportunity for leadership is so great, that we here and now call upon all people to avoid divisive and fruitless discussions and unite their energies in this great crusade for a warfree world. To this sublime end we dedicate ourselves, and for its accomplishment we invoke the blessing of Almighty God.

CALL FOR NATIONAL FARMER-LABOR-PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION

June 17, 1924, Saint Paul, Minnesota

The Declaration of Independence, a document underlying the institutions of this country, states that every human being is endowed with certain inalienable rights and that among these are "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These rights are today denied the great mass of people of this country by a privileged class which through its economic and political power dominates the life of this country.

This privileged class has, through the organization of "trusts," through interlocking directorates, through the great banking institutions of Wall Street concentrated the control of the economic life of the country in the hands of a financial oligarchy with its headquarters in Wall Street. It uses its power to amass great wealth for itself at the expense of the happiness and well-being of the farmers and industrial workers who are the producers of the wealth of this country.

In order to maintain its privileges and to aid in its exploitation of the farmers and industrial workers, this privileged class has fastened its grip upon the Government. It uses the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the Government alike as instrument in its service to secure greater and greater profits and to amass greater and greater wealth. The recent exposures of corruption in connection with the Teapot Dome oil scandal is but one outstanding incident showing how the Government power is used to loot the natural resources of the nation.

During the past few years millions of farmers have been driven from the farms because unable to secure even the means for a livelihood through their labor as a result of their exploitation by the privileged class. The Esch-Cummins law, passed in the interest of the railroad owners, has been one factor in producing this situation.

The industrial workers, struggling to maintain their organizations and a decent standard of living, have found that this privileged class has at its command the powers of the Government whenever the struggle over the right to organize, wages and working conditions have resulted in a strike. The use of injunctions against the workers on strike is an everyday occurrence. The infamous Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen still stands—an injunction which at one stroke robbed the workers of every right supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Republican and Democratic Parties have proven themselves equally the instruments of the privileged class in using the Governmental power against farmers and industrial workers.

These conditions have developed a widespread movement by the farmers and industrial workers to organize a political party which will fight their battles and challenge the continued rule of the privileged class in this country.

The political organizations of farmers and industrial workers, scattered over the country, must be united for the 1924 presidential campaign, so that they may present a united front against the parties of the privileged class and join in a common struggle against that class.

To achieve this end this call for a National Convention in St. Paul on June 17th, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President and adopting a national platform, is issued.

We extend an invitation to send delegates to this convention to all farmer organizations, local trade unions, central labor bodies, State federations of labor, international unions, co-operative organizations, labor fraternal organizations and all farmer and labor political organizations, the Nonpartisan League and the Committee of 48, provided that they endorse the following tentative program:

A. Public Ownership of Railroads.

B. Control of Money and Credits by the People Through Government and Co-operative Banks.

C. Public Control of All Natural Resources.

D. Restoration of Civil Rights Guaranteed by the Constitution.

E. The Abolition of the Use of the Injunction in Labor Disputes, and Other Judicial Abuses.

This call for a convention is issued by the committee of arrangements in the name of the following organizations:

(Signed):

FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF MINNESOTA and FARMER-LABOR FEDERATION—William Mahoney, Chairman; R. D. Cramer, H. G. Teigan (Secretary to Senator Magnus Johnson), William A. Schaper, C. A. Hathaway.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF IDAHO—Ray McKaig, National Committeeman.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF NEBRASKA—J. L. Beebe, Chairman; W. H. Green, Secretary.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF WASHINGTON—John C. Kennedy, Secretary.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF NORTH DAKOTA—R. H. Walker, Chairman; H. R. Martinson, Secretary.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF MONTANA—Charles E. Taylor, Chairman; R. J. Wallace, Secretary.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF SOUTH DAKOTA—Tom Ayres, Chairman; Alice Lorraine Daly.

WESTERN PROGRESSIVE FARMERS — William Bouck, Chairman.
FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY — Joseph Manley, Secretary.
COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT — John A. H. Hopkins, Chairman.
FORWARD PARTY OF DELAWARE—George H. Hallett, Jr., Chairman.
PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF NEW JERSEY — Frank A. Pattison, Chairman.
PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF NEW YORK—Dr. Phillip Rice, Chairman.
PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO — E. B. Lane, Chairman.
PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA—Eber S. Cockley, Acting Chairman.
INDEPENDENT LEAGUE OF INDIANA VOTERS—John Zahnd, Chairman.
BUFFALO LABOR PARTY—James F. Campbell.

A DEFEATED RESOLUTION

Voted, that we call public attention to the vast injustice which is being wrought upon the German people through the false and cruel terms of the Versailles Treaty. We can now see that the great war was the work, as Mr. Lloyd George has confessed, of no single guilty nation, but that it really came from the lack of the spirit of fairness and humanity and sound religion among all the nations. We raise the question whether we have the right to expect permanent peace till the Treaty and the reparations and the international debts are revised and corrected in the interest of justice.

[Presented at the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association, in Boston, and "defeated by a large majority."]

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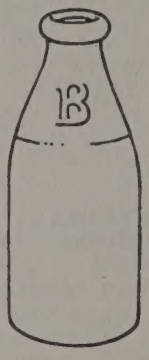

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